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# FACTS AND FIGURES ON HAWAIIAN SUGAR PRODUCTION ARE BROUGHT OUT AT PROBE HEARING SENATE'S LOBBY PROBE COMMITTEE QUESTIONS GEORGE R. CARTER AT VERY GREAT LENGTH

[This is installment No. 3 in the re-  
port of the senate lobby probe com-  
mittee that investigated the activities  
of Hawaii sugar planters in Washing-  
ton. The report is being published  
from week to week.]

Senator Walsh. When did you get  
it to them?

Mr. Carter. I think, if I may have  
the copy of it, it will show the date  
of my letter of transmittal. I think  
it was the 28th of May.

Senator Cummins. Which one do  
you mean?

Mr. Carter. That green pamphlet  
that the chairman has, if I may have  
it. The letter of transmittal is ad-  
dressed to Senator John Sharp Wil-  
liams, and is dated May 23; and I sent  
it as I say, at the suggestion of Sen-  
ator O'Gorman; but now I gather from  
the testimony before this committee  
that when senators receive a printed  
pamphlet like this they throw it into  
the waste-paper basket.

Senator Walsh. This was prepared,  
as I understand you, at the sugges-  
tion of Senator O'Gorman?

Mr. Carter. Yes; I was telling Sen-  
ator O'Gorman a little about the treat-  
ment that our delegation had received  
before the committee. I am of the  
opinion that whatever occurred before  
that committee will not reach the rest  
of the senators unless it comes out  
in some such testimony as this.

Senator Nelson. I wish you would  
tell us about that. I want to hear  
this.

Senator Walsh. Senator. Will you  
pardon me until I dispose of this?

Senator Nelson. Of course; but  
when are you likely to end?

Senator Walsh. I am going to try  
to learn something. I will be very  
glad, however, if you will proceed  
with the examination.

Senator Nelson. Go on.

Senator Walsh. You say you were  
telling Senator O'Gorman about the  
treatment that the delegation got, and  
you got from him the suggestion that  
you prepare a brief?

Mr. Carter. No; not at all. Yes; in  
a way. He suggested it in this way:  
He said, "Carter, why don't you put  
down what you want to say and have  
it printed and send it to the sena-  
tors?" I did not say so to him, but  
I thought afterwards that I could have  
done that at home without traveling  
\$300 miles.

Senator Walsh. You would want to  
present a brief to the finance commit-  
tee in any case, would you not, even  
though you had obtained a hearing?

Mr. Carter. No; I should have pre-  
ferred a public hearing, and I declined  
to go before the committee because it  
was not a public hearing.

Senator Walsh. Did you decline to  
go?

Mr. Carter. At least I did not go,  
and that was my reason for not going.  
Senator Walsh. Because it was not  
a public hearing?

Mr. Carter. Yes. I saw no advan-  
tage in a hearing before three sena-  
tors who were adverse to us, and  
when it was not going to be public.

Senator Walsh. Whom do you  
speak of as the three senators who  
were adverse to you?

Mr. Carter. I presumed they were  
adverse. I was so informed. They  
were the three senators who composed  
the subcommittee having charge of  
sugar.

Senator Walsh. That is, Senator  
Williams—

Mr. Carter. Senator Williams, Sen-  
ator Gore, and Senator Shively, I be-  
lieve.

Senator Walsh. So you did not  
make any effort at all to appear be-  
fore that committee?

Mr. Carter. I advised my col-  
leagues not to appear before that com-  
mittee, and did not come up myself.

Senator Walsh. And you presented  
no brief to that committee at all? You  
addressed this to the general pub-  
lic?

Mr. Carter. No; I presented this  
brief to them afterwards after our  
hearing was over, after they had stig-  
nified their impression that the dele-  
gation from Hawaii "amused" them.

Senator Walsh. Amused them?

Mr. Carter. Yes; amused them;  
and after one of them was courteous  
enough to suggest that the Hawaiian  
delegation be heard after the tariff  
bill is passed.

Senator Walsh. Now, Senator Nel-  
son.

Senator Nelson. I will wait until  
you are through.

Senator Walsh. Did you appear be-  
fore that subcommittee at all?

Mr. Carter. I did not.

Senator Walsh. The remark that  
you speak of was made by which mem-  
ber of the committee?

Mr. Carter. There were only two  
members present, the chairman and  
Senator Gore.

The chairman. Do you mean the  
chairman of the committee or the  
chairman of the subcommittee?

Mr. Carter. The chairman of the  
subcommittee.

Senator Walsh. I understand you  
to say that you did not appear before  
the subcommittee at all?

Mr. Carter. I did not. I am giving  
what my colleagues reported.

Senator Walsh. Oh, this was some-  
thing that was told you?

Mr. Carter. Certainly.

Senator Walsh. About what they  
had said?

Mr. Carter. Precisely.

Senator Walsh. Told you by whom?

Mr. Carter. By Mr. Ballou and Mr.  
Baldwin.

Senator Walsh. And when was this  
that you were told?

Mr. Carter. The afternoon of the  
hearing, I think it was. Mr. Ballou  
was notified on Friday that there  
would be a hearing before this com-  
mittee on Monday morning at 10  
o'clock. I had been working on my  
brief, but it was not finished, and I

retired to see if I could not get it fin-  
ished. Later we ascertained that the  
hearing was not to be public, and we  
could get no assurance that anything  
we might file would be printed, or that  
anything we said would be taken  
down, and I thought then it would be  
a waste of time to appear before the  
committee.

Senator Walsh. Governor, I simply  
asked you when it was?

Mr. Carter. It was on the after-  
noon of that Monday. I do not re-  
member the day of the hearing, but it  
was the afternoon of the day the hear-  
ing began. They had a hearing, and it  
lasted from 10 o'clock in the morn-  
ing until something like 4 o'clock in  
the afternoon. And I was at work at  
the office when these two gentlemen  
came down and told what had occur-  
red.

Senator Walsh. Can you give us  
any idea about how long ago this was?

Mr. Carter. Yes; I think if I may  
refresh my mind from the calendar I  
can give you the date. It was on  
Monday, and I think it was the 19th  
of May, about that date. I am not  
positive, but the record of the date  
can be obtained very easily.

Senator Walsh. In addition to the  
brief and bulletins and the advertis-  
ing, what else have you gotten out  
at your headquarters?

Mr. Carter. Nothing else that I  
know of.

Senator Walsh. You know this.  
"Get the facts," do you not?

Mr. Carter. Yes.

Senator Walsh. What does that  
comprise?

Mr. Carter. That is the pamphlet  
that I told you we had prepared from  
the mats and had an edition of 5,000  
printed.

Senator Walsh. That is, the vari-  
ous bulletins were collected?

Mr. Carter. These advertisements  
had been running in the paper for  
some time, and we collected the ad-  
vertisements together and made them  
up into this pamphlet.

Senator Walsh. I was in error  
then; I supposed that that pamphlet  
was a compilation of the various bul-  
letins that you got out?

Mr. Carter. Not at all; the bulletins  
are separate.

Senator Walsh. This is a compila-  
tion of the advertising?

Mr. Carter. Yes.

Senator Walsh. How are those dis-  
seminated?

Mr. Carter. In the same way; un-  
der the mailing list that we have here.

Senator Walsh. Has any other  
printed matter emanated from your  
headquarters?

Mr. Carter. Yes.

Senator Walsh. What else?

Mr. Carter. Mr. Ballou prepared  
some before I arrived, a little pam-  
phlet called "An Argument for the Con-  
sumer."

Mr. Paxton prepared a little pam-  
phlet called "Sugar Facts."

We printed an article by Mr. Law-  
rence that had been published in some  
magazine, an article on sugar that we  
got hold of and that deserved further  
circulation. That was done before I  
arrived. There may be some other  
material. Those who will testify af-  
ter me can give you better informa-  
tion on that than I can, but we would  
be glad to file a complete set of them  
here.

Senator Walsh. Having told us  
about the printed matter that you put  
out, you were proceeding to tell me  
a while ago about your interviews  
with various senators?

Mr. Carter. Yes.

Senator Walsh. What have you  
done in that way?

Mr. Carter. When I have come up  
to the Capitol I have usually spent  
my time to little effect, because I  
would not find the senators in. I  
have called on a number of them and  
left my card and not seen them. I  
have seen, I think, only a very few.  
I have seen Senator Manning, Sen-  
ator O'Gorman, and Senator Newlands.  
I met Senator James Hamilton Lewis in  
the corridor and spoke to him, and I  
was introduced, for the first time, to  
Senator La Follette. I know of no  
other senators that I have seen. I  
can not recall no others.

Senator Walsh. Now, has your or-  
ganization some head, who assumes  
the direction of affairs?

Mr. Carter. Not entirely; we are  
different units here. This is a day  
of cooperation; it is no longer a day  
of labor unions, but a day of federa-  
tions of unions. We are all repre-  
senting different things here, but  
working in harmony.

Senator Walsh. I understood you to  
start out with the representatives of  
the islands?

Mr. Carter. I do not understand  
you.

Senator Walsh. This Domestic Sug-  
ar Producers' Association?

Mr. Carter. The sugar producers is  
the cooperative action of various sug-  
ar interests here. It does not alone  
represent Hawaii, it represents Lou-  
isiana and the beet-sugar interests  
and Porto Rico. When it was started,  
its first bulletin outlined what it was  
composed of and what its plan was.

Senator Walsh. Confine yourself  
for the present, however, to the rep-  
resentatives from the Hawaiian is-  
lands.

Mr. Carter. Yes.

Senator Walsh. Who is at the head  
of the delegation from the Hawaiian  
islands, if anybody?

Mr. Carter. We do not have a head  
in this case, sir. I am here as a vol-  
unteer, and other gentlemen are, and  
Mr. Ballou is here permanently. Many  
matters we refer to him. On some  
we act independently of him. For  
instance, in the preparation and print-  
ing of my brief I have not conferred  
with Mr. Ballou at all. I have no rea-  
son to confer with him. I am not un-  
der him. He does not have to pass  
on it.

Senator Walsh. What I simply de-  
sired to know about that was whether

each one of the representatives from  
the islands goes about his work on  
his own initiative in that kind of  
thing or whether he goes about under  
the direction of some one.

Mr. Carter. No. We start to work  
in harmony and to prevent overlap-  
ping and to give as much team work  
as we can. We are all vitally inter-  
ested, and we want to avoid annihila-  
tion of our industry, and we are work-  
ing the best we know how to prevent  
that.

Senator Walsh. I was laboring un-  
der the impression thus far, Governor,  
that the domestic sugar producers  
merely signified simply the represen-  
tatives of the Hawaiian islands, but I  
now gather that it embraces all of the  
interests producing sugar.

Mr. Carter. That was the aim when  
it started, before I came here.

Senator Walsh. So that it embraces  
not only the Hawaiian islands' inter-  
ests, but what else?

Mr. Carter. The first bulletin will  
give you the facts, and these others  
are better informed than I am.

The chairman. Will you produce  
that first bulletin and give us a copy  
of it?

Mr. Carter. I shall be glad to.

Senator Walsh. It will be found in  
the pamphlet "Get the Facts," will it  
not?

Mr. Carter. No; I spoke of those  
as the advertisements.

Senator Walsh. The first bulletin,  
then, as I understand you tell us who  
constitute this Domestic Sugar Pro-  
ducers' Association?

Mr. Carter. Well, I so understand.  
I have not read it myself, but I so  
understand.

Senator Walsh. From what you  
know of the operations down there,  
what interests are represented?

Mr. Carter. As I understand it, the  
Domestic Sugar Producers' repre-  
sent all of those who produce sugar  
under the American flag.

Senator Walsh. That is, the Hawa-  
ian islands' interest?

Mr. Carter. Yes; the Hawaiian Is-  
lands.

Senator Walsh. Louisiana—

Mr. Carter. Louisiana.

Senator Walsh. The beet-sugar in-  
terests—

Mr. Carter. The beet-sugar inter-  
ests.

Senator Walsh. And the Porto Ri-  
can interests?

Mr. Carter. And the Porto Rican  
interests.

Senator Walsh. What kind of an  
association or organization have you?

Mr. Carter. It is a little difficult  
to answer that question. In what  
sense do you mean organization, just  
such an organization as the federa-  
tion of labor unions would have. I  
doubt if it is as formal as that. It is  
just such an organization as if a  
series of interests got together on  
common ground; and as far as our  
ground is common, we stand together.

Senator Walsh. Have you any kind  
of an organization with a chairman,  
a secretary, or anything of that kind?

Mr. Carter. No; not with these oth-  
ers. When a matter comes up, we  
gather together and discuss it. I have  
attended two or three conferences.

Senator Walsh. Of course it takes  
money to do all these things that you  
have told us about?

Mr. Carter. Precisely.

Senator Walsh. Who handles the  
money?

Mr. Carter. As far as these adver-  
tisements are concerned?

Senator Walsh. As far as all the  
work of the Domestic Sugar Producers'  
Association is concerned.

Mr. Carter. Do you mean who han-  
dles the money who pays the bills?

Mr. Mead, and I will say that if we  
paid out \$300,000 we would consider  
it very small in comparison with the  
\$300,000 that we have got involved  
in this industry.

The chairman. Who is Mr. Mead?

Mr. Carter. R. D. Mead. He is the  
statistician of whom I have spoken.

The chairman. Is he here in Wash-  
ington?

Mr. Carter. He is here, ready to  
testify.

Senator Walsh. The contributions  
of course, as I suppose, come from the  
various interests represented?

Mr. Carter. The contributions come  
by the assessment of all the stockhold-  
ers in Hawaii.

Senator Walsh. I was speaking of  
the funds expended by this associa-  
tion for the domestic sugar producers.

Mr. Carter. I am speaking of that  
which we disburse as our contribution  
from Hawaii. I could not tell you  
about the others.

Senator Walsh. I am going to trace  
it as far as I can, governor.

Mr. Carter. Yes.

Senator Walsh. Mr. Mead pays for  
these various things gotten out by  
this Domestic Sugar Producers' As-  
sociation?

Mr. Carter. Yes; all those things  
that we contribute.

Senator Walsh. From whom does  
Mr. Mead get the money?

Mr. Carter. From the Hawaiian Sug-  
ar Planters' Association, that assesses  
all the stockholders in Hawaii.

Senator Walsh. So as I understand,  
then, all of the expense of this is  
borne by the Hawaiian sugar inter-  
ests?

Mr. Carter. All this advertising is  
borne by them, and these bulletins.  
The publications are borne by them,  
and the office rent is borne by them.  
I could not say whether everything—  
there is a good deal of private expense  
by us all.

Senator Walsh. Do not the beet-  
sugar interests do anything for you at  
all?

Mr. Carter. They do their part.  
They are issuing literature. They pay  
for that.

Senator Walsh. Now, I have got  
back again. Then, as I understand  
you now, this work that you have  
spoken of—

Mr. Carter. You asked me about  
Hawaii, at least I so understood you.

Pardon me, if I misunderstood you. I  
understood you to ask me for what re-  
ferred to Hawaii.

Senator Nelson. I certainly under-  
stood that he referred to Hawaiian  
concerns and not these others.

Senator Walsh. So did I, until I  
changed my mind about it here a min-  
ute ago.

Mr. Carter. I did not understand  
when you changed your mind.

Senator Walsh. I thought in the  
first place from your testimony that  
everything that was gotten out by this  
association here in the Colorado build-  
ing was gotten out at the expense of  
the Hawaiian sugar producers.

Mr. Carter. I could not say.

Senator Walsh. But I later gather-  
ed from you, from what you said, that  
that was not the case, but that all of  
these interests contributed to the mon-  
ey which were necessary.

Mr. Carter. You misunderstood me.  
Some of them contribute to some  
things, and some do not. For instance,  
in the preparation of this pamphlet,  
that was a contribution on our part to  
which we did not ask the others to  
contribute. We thought it was such  
an excellent plan to get the facts be-  
fore the public and get the informa-  
tion out, that while this tariff bill was  
being under discussion we published  
that without consulting the others.

We told them what we were going to  
do, and asked them if they had any  
objection, and they said no.

Senator Walsh. And what part of  
it did the others contribute?

Mr. Carter. They contributed nothing  
to that.

Senator Walsh. You have told us  
that, but what part of the expenses in-  
curred at the office down there?

Mr. Carter. I do not know.

Senator Walsh. In the issuing of  
any of these things did the other in-  
terests contribute?

Mr. Carter. I could not tell you  
that as well as some of the others.

Mr. Mead is here, and Mr. Ballou can  
tell you that—how much they con-  
tribute, or in each line of work they  
approve of and join with us in, and  
how the division of work has been  
made between the different interests.  
I am not sufficiently familiar with all  
the details.